

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00774 101400Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----056327 101404Z /47

P 101314Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7814

S E C R E T LUSAKA 0774

EXDIS, NOFORN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: PDEV RH ZA CU
SUBJ: CUBANS IN ZAMBIA

REF: STATE 61449

1. ACCORDING TO OUR BEST INFORMATION, THERE ARE 50 TO 60 CUBAN MILITARY ADVISORS IN ZAMBIA AT THE MOMENT ATTACHED TO ZAPU TRAINING FACILITIES AND PERHAPS ANOTHER 20 TO 25 CIVILIANS IN THE EMBASSY. WHILE WE HAVE SEEN REPORTS THAT THERE IS A UNIT OF SOME 800 CUBAN MILITARY ADVISORS IN ANGOLA WHOM ZAPU WOULD LIKE TO BRING IN TO ZAMBIA IN STAGES, WE HAVE NO INFORMATION THAT THIS HAS BEGUN OR THAT APPROVAL FROM THE ZAMBIANS HAS BEEN GIVEN FOR SUCH TRANSFER.

2. THOUGH ZAMBIAN INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS IN UNGUARDED MOMENTS ADMIT THE PRESENCE OF THESE MILITARY ADVISORS, SENIOR OFFICIALS ON THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL AND THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF REFUSE TO DO SO, EITHER PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY.

3. I BELIEVE KAUNDA WOULD BE DELIGHTED BY AN APPROACH FROM ME TO HIM ON THIS SUBJECT. HE AND HIS PRESS SECRETARY HAVE BEEN WARNING ALL AND SUNDRY OF THE LIKELIHOOD OF CUBAN AND SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IF THE WEST SUPPORTS THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND ABANDONS THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL. HE WOULD USE
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ANY WARNING FROM ME AS A PLATFORM TO CRITICIZE THE BRITISH AND US FOR OUR DELAY IN PUSHING AHEAD WITH THE AAP, AND FOR ENCOURAGING STATEMENTS ABOUT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. HE WOULD CLAIM THAT THE MATTER OF CUBAN INVOLVEMENT HERE IS IN OUR HANDS. HE WANTS IT NO MORE THAN WE, BUT HE WILL BE FORCED TO ACCEPT IT IF THE US AND UK REFUSE TO PUSH AHEAD WITH THE ONLY WAY TO AVOID IT--THE APP.

4. THE ARGUMENT THAT INCREASED CUBAN-SOVIET INVOLVEMENT HERE WILL FUEL SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN THE US IS A GOOD ONE AND WORTH MAKING. ANOTHER ARGUMENT THAT WE MIGHT USE CONCERNS HELP FOR ZAMBIA IN ITS PRESENT DIRE ECONOMIC STRAITS. I COULD SAY THAT WE ARE MAKING A MAXIMUM EFFORT AND HOPE TO SIGN A LOAN AGREEMENT FOR \$30 MILLION WITHIN A FEW WEEKS. TO THIS WE ARE HOPING TO BE ABLE TO ADD AT LEAST FIVE AND PERHAPS AS MUCH AS TEN MILLION OF PL-480. HOWEVER, THE SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORTS TO HELP ZAMBIA IN OBTAINING FINANCIAL SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY FROM PRIVATE SOURCES, WOULD INEVITABLY BE AFFECTED BY SHARP INCREASES IN SOVIET AND CUBAN PRESENCE. NEITHER OF THESE TWO ARGUMENTS, HOWEVER, ARE LIKELY TO CARRY MUCH WEIGHT WITH KAUNDA WHO I& USED TO CRITICISM AND ECONOMIC SACRIFICE FOR WHAT HE BELIEVES HE MUST DO IN THE AME OF PRINCIPLE.

5. I BELIEVE THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM WOULD BE THROUGH A RESPONSE TO KAUNDA ON THE ZAMBIAN PROPOSAL FOR TIMING OF HIS STATE VISIT TO WASHINGTON. OUR SILENCE FOR OVER A MONTH SINCE THEY GAVE US THE SUGGESTED DATES IS BOUND TO HAVE SET THEM WONDERING WHETHER WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF A WITHDRAWAL BOTH FROM OUR PROPOSED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA AND SUPPORT FOR HIMSELF.

6. I THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT ANY APPROACH I MAKE TO THE
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PRESIDENT ON THIS SUBJECT SHOULD BE PRECEDED BY NOTIFICATION TO THE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL THAT THE VISIT DATES ARE ACCEPTABLE. I WOULD NOT MENTION THIS IN TALKING TO THE PRESIDENT, BUT I AM CERTAIN THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO BE AWARE OF IT. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES I THINK HE WOULD LISTEN MORE CAREFULLY AND TAKE MORE SERIOUSLY WHAT WE ARE SAYING. CONVERSELY I BELIEVE THAT IF MUCH MORE TIME GOES BY WITHOUT A REPLY TO THIS SUGGESTION WHICH REQUIRES COORDINATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, THEY WILL SOON BECOME OFFENDED AND BITTER. IN THIS MOOD THEY ARE QUITE CAPABLE OF ACTIONS WHICH, IN EFFECT, CUT OFF THEIR NOSE TO SPITE THEIR FACE.
LOW

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY PERSONNEL, SPHERE OF INFLUENCE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978LUSAKA00774
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X2
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780108-0214
Format: TEL
From: LUSAKA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780383/aaaacsfg.tel
Line Count: 106
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: e4a8acc9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS, NOFORN
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS, NOFORN
Reference: 78 STATE 61449
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3374923
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CUBANS IN ZAMBIA
TAGS: PDEV, MASS, RH, ZA, CU, ZAPU
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e4a8acc9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014